THE NAMIBIAN DOCUMENTATION

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Introduction

The military volcano, speerheaded by the South West Africa People's Organization, SWAPO, is erupting in Namibia with unpreceded intensity impossible to fathom. Its inception commenced after the infamous ruling by the International Court of Justice at the Hague on the question of Namibia. This ignominal decision by the labefacted international judicial system, which was delivered on the 18th of July, 1966, left us with no other alternative but to take the destinity of the Namibian people in our own hands. The following month after the comical ruling of the Court SWAPO freedom fighters injected the first military challenge into the South African white minority regime's power structure. This was the first time Vorster and his hentchmen winced under the African military challenge. It was exactly on the 26th of August, 1966, that our freedom fighters rocked the widely adverticed South African political equilibrium and seemingly social cohesion of the ruling class. Such military undertaking needs both political and diplomatic consolidation for the attainment of the Namibians lofty anticipated victory.

Hence, SWAPO diligently has been carrying out the struggle on both fronts in these two domains, as the sole legitimate vanguard of the Namibian people. However, the complication of our task is multitu-

denal due to the Western imperialist powers that support the South African colonial administration of Namibia. The United States, United Kingdom, France, West Germany and their lackeyes, because of their economic interests and for the survival of their shaky capitalistic way of life, are reluctant to coupel Vorster and his co-criminals to lift their claws from our country. However, this imperialist support for the fascist regime will neither deter the determination of the Namibian people, nor the support of the peace-loving nations for our struggle. The imperialist adulating oratory on the international forum will never veil the South Africa's traducation and disobedience of the United Nations. The utterly demuciation of the United Nations' decisions, especially the termination of South African mandatory Power over Namibia by the General Assembly on 27th of October, 1966, leads any soberminded person to support our genuine struggle.

In our publications we must expose the disingenuity of the Western imperialism and their pendulous lackeys. We have to unveil their economic rapaciousness which is customarily cloacked under the mendacious pronouncements. It is our duty to explode their political, economic and social bankrupcy before the eyes of the world. It is in this respect that we deem our press highly.

We, SWAPO, had this in mind when we convened the Tanga Conference from December of last year till January this year. It was meant for the implementation of the crystalization of our armed struggle and for the speed-up of the orbitation of our news about our progress around the world. Consequently, we have continued to expand our contact with our comrades around the African continent as well as the progressive and Socialist countries in Asia, Europe and Latin America. We expect this publication to reveberate and consolidate the unstinted support for our struggle from the independent, non-puppet Governments of Africa and the Socialist countries. We never supplicate mercy from the imperialists and their Vorster puppet cliques, however, we will welcome help from the progressive and sympathetic organizations and movements in those countries.

Finally, but not the least, we extend our unreserved fraternal hands to our brothers in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe who are fighting against the monsters that are against everything revolutionary and progressive and idolize everything reactionary and counter-revolutionary.

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THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION

Communique issued by the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia following its Consultative Congress

The Consultative Congress of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia met in Tanga from the 26th of December, 1969 to the 2nd of January, 1970.

The Congress reviewed all the activities of the Party since the launching of the armed struggle in Namibia. The Congress was attended by twenty-eight delegates who included Party Officials, Heads of Foreign Missions, student representatives and representatives of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia, as well as Party functionaries from home and abroad.

The Congress thoroughly discussed and examined political and military problems which pertain to the struggle for liberation of Namibia. The Opening Session of the Congress was attended by diplomats representing the Governments of the following countries: Rumania, U.S.S.R., Algeria, Guinea, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Messages of support were received from embassies representing the following countries: U.A.R., Sudan, Pakistan (High Commission), G.D.R., Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea and Burundi. Messages of support were also received from the following international organizations: Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity

Organization, World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. The Congress was also attended by the following Liberation Movements: FRELIMO and the A.N.C. of South Africa. The Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) send a message of support.

The Congress reviewed the Party's foreign policy with respect to such international organizations as the United Nations, the OAU, other national liberation movements in Africa, as well as the liberation movements that are fighting against Zionism in the Middle East and finally, all the liberation movements which are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Asia, especially in Vietnam and in Latin America.

The Congress discussed and examined the political, military and economic involvement of the Western powers particularly France, Britain, West Germany, United States, Italy, Belgium and Japan in South Africa's suppression of the legitimate right of the Namibian people to selfdetermination and national independence.

The Congress discussed, examined and reviewed the Constitution of SWAPO. Furthermore, the Congress also discussed, examined and re-organised the structure of the Party in view of the intensification of the armed struggle in the country.

The Congress also discussed and examined the plight of Namibian refugees who fled into neighbouring States e.g. Zambia and Botswana as a result of the intensification of the armed struggle in the country.

The Congress also discussed and examined the development of the armed struggle in the country taking note of the progress made since the beginning of the armed struggle and also the experience gained by the freedom fighters. The Congress also discussed and examined new tactics and strategy to speed up the liberation of Namibia within the shortest possible time.

Finally, the Congress expresses its sincere gratitude to the President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, TANU, the AFRO-SHIRAZI Party, the Government and to the people of Tanzania for their firm support and solidarity in our struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Our special thanks and gratitude also go to the Regional Secretary of TANU (who is also the Regional Commissioner) Comrade Waziri Juma and to the people of Tanga who accorded us a warm welcome and hospitality and also, for the excellent facilities which made this Congress not only a reality but a complete success.

RESOLUTIONS

THE CONSULTATIVE CONGRESS OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) OF NAMIBIA MET IN TANGA, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA, FROM 26TH DECEMBER, 1969 TO 2ND JANUARY, 1970 AND ADOPTED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS:

1. THE CONGRESS:

Bearing in mind the sacred responsibility and duty that the main burden for the liberation of Namibia rest solely on the Namibians to carry it out;
Praising the spirit and firm resolve of our people to endure all hardships and, making all sacrifices for the liberation of our Fatherland;
Noting that the fascist regime of South Africa is determined to perpetuate the oppression, exploitation and enslavement of the Namibian nation permanently;
Noting the arbitrary partitioning of Namibia via the creation of the hated "Bantustans" and the forced removal of the Africans from their ancestral lands;
Noting the arbitrary arrests, detentions, tortures and massacres of innocent men, women and children and specifically, the members and leaders of SWAPO;
Noting the illegal trials and subsequent harsh sentences imposed on SWAPO leaders and freedom fighters in Pretoria (1968) and in Windhoek (1969);
Noting further that thousands of Namibian patriots are still rotting in the fascist Vorster's dungeons without trial over a period of years since their illegal arrests and deportation to the fascist South Africa;

THE CONGRESS RESOLVES TO:

Fight relentlessly, making even more sacrifices, enduring all hardships to free Namibia from fascist South Africa's illegal occupation.

2. THE CONGRESS:

Having discussed and examined the development of the armed struggle in Namibia since its launching in August 1966;
Taking note of the progress made and summing up the experience gained by the freedom fighters over the past three years;
Noting that the main bulk of the South African armed forces are deployed in Namibia;
Noting the intimidation, massacre and cold-blooded murder of innocent black population by the fascist South African armed forces under the pretext that they are harbouring freedom fighters;
Noting the indiscriminate burning of villages and continued poisoning of water in the guerrilla operational zones;

THE CONGRESS REAFFIRMS:

That armed struggle is the only effective way to bring about the liberation of Namibia.
That the Namibian people have already accepted the armed revolution as an inevitability in our struggle for selfdetermination and national independence.
That SWAPO shall leave no stone unturned, give up no ground gained and shall spare no life when called for, to make Namibia free and independent within the shortest possible time.

3. THE CONGRESS:

Taking into account the nature of the armed struggle we are waging and the demand for more efficiency and the streamlining of the Organization machinery, the Congress reviewed the Constitution accordingly.
As a result, amendments were made in the Constitution of SWAPO; following are the major changes introduced and adopted:—
The former Vice-President of SWAPO, Louis Nelengani was expelled from the Organization for his treacherous collaboration with the enemy.
A new Vice-President was elected, namely Comrade B. K. Simbwaye who has been and still is being held in detention since 1964 by the fascist regime of South Africa.
In the absence of the Vice-President, the Congress unanimously elected Comrade Mishek Muyongo as Acting Vice-President.
The post of the Secretary-General of SWAPO has been abolished and has been substituted by the post of the Administrative Secretary.
Following is the Organization structure in accordance with the constitutional review and the office bearers:—

President	Sam D. Nujoma
Vice-President	Bredan Simbwaye
Acting Vice-President	Mishek Muyongo
Administrative Secretary	Moses M. Garoeb
Assistant Administrative Secretary	Lucas Pohamba
Acting Secretary for Foreign Relations	Peter Mueshihange
Ag. Secretary for Information & Publicity	Andreas Z. Shipanga
Secretary of Defence and Transport	Peter Nanyemba
Assistant Secretary of Defence & Transport	Richard Kapelwa
Secretary of Labour	Solomon Mifima
Assistant Secretary of Labour	Luther Zaire
Acting Treasurer-General	Joseph Ithana
Secretary for Education and Culture	Nickey Iyambo
Asst. Secretary of Education & Culture	Ben Amathila
Secretary for Health and Social Welfare	Dr. Philip Indongo
Asst. Secretary for Health & Social Welfare	Dr. Libertine Appolus
Secretary for Economic and Legal Affairs	Peter Katjavivi
Asst. Sec. for Economic and Legal Affairs	Ernest Tjiriange
Organizing Secretary	Gottfried Geingob
Assistant Organizing Secretary	Maxton Joseph
Director of Youth	Homateni Kaluenja
Assistant Deputy Director of Youth	Alpo Mauno Mbamba
Director of SWAPO Women's Council	Dr. Libertine Appolus
Chairman (Council of SWAPO Elders)	S. S. Kaukungua
Deputy Chairman (Council of SWAPO Elders)	Jackson Mazazi

(**PLEASE NOTE:** All the Acting Secretaries are acting on behalf of those comrades in the country whose names are withheld for obvious reasons.)

A new National Executive Committee composed of 10 elected members and two additional members as well as a new Central Committee composed of 30 members were elected.

4. THE CONGRESS:

Having discussed and examined the economic, military and political involvements of the Western powers, particularly the U.S., France, Britain, West Germany, etc. and Japan in Apartheid South Africa and Namibia;

Noting that this involvement directly contributes to the suppression of the legitimate human rights of the Namibian people;

Noting that the involvement of these powers encourages the fascist

Pretoria regime to wage a war of aggression in Namibia against our people with murder, torture, arrest, detention and imprisonment;

Noting furthermore that this involvement has brought about the plundering of the economy and the natural resources of Namibia, and that only a handful of white colonists and Western capitalmonopolists immensely benefit from this large-scale plunder, leaving the entire African population of our country in untold misery, poverty and starvation;

THE CONGRESS CONDEMNS IN THE STRONGEST TERMS:

The above-mentioned countries for their military, economic and political support for and instigation to the fascist regime of South Africa to commit crimes against our people.

France, specifically, for supplying most of the military equipment (war planes, armoured cars, rockets and helicopters) to the Pretoria fascists, which are being used to kill, maim and destroy our people and their properties in Namibia.

West Germany, specifically, for providing scientists who assist rascist South Africa in the production of poisoned gases.

U.S., specifically, for providing scientists and scientific data to rascist South Africa for the production of nuclear weapons.

Britain, specifically, for providing all kinds of offensive weapons such as the Bucaneer jet bombers, tanks and most of the naval vessels; furthermore, for openly permitting its companies and banks such as the STANDARD BANK and BARCLAYS BANK in Namibia, in conjunction with the Windhoek "Allgemeine Zeitung" (a German language daily in Namibia), for publicly raising funds to recruit more armed police gangs to suppress our people.

Britain, France and the United States, specifically, for their diplomatic manoeuvres at the United Nations for the purpose of sabotaging the Namibian question, thus prolonging the illegal occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria racists.

5. THE CONGRESS:

Having examined the activities of the U.N. with respect to Namibia, over the past 24 years;

Noting that the U.N. has done nothing in these years to live up to its obligations with respect to the people of Namibia;

Bearing in mind that the U.N. is dominated by Western imperialist powers and their lackeys with heavy investments in Namibia and in South Africa, who constantly sabotage the genuine attempts by the

Afro-Asian, socialist and other member-nations of the U.N. who care for human freedom and rights;

THE CONGRESS DEMANDS:

That the United Nations must carry out, to the letter, Resolution 2145 XXI (of 1966) which terminated the South African mandate and administration over Namibia.
That the United Nations recognize SWAPO as the only true representative movement in Namibia, and must give direct material and moral support to SWAPO to carry out the armed revolution in Namibia.

6. THE CONGRESS:

Expresses its full support and militant solidarity to the valiant fighting peoples in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Comoro Island and the so-called French Somaliland;
Expresses special thanks to FRELIMO and ANC who attended the opening session of the historic Congress, and to ZAPU who sent us a message of solidarity and support;
Expresses solidarity and full support to the peerless heroic people of Vietnam in their struggle for national salvation against U.S. aggressors and their quislings; supports fully the stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as well as the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam; demands that U.S. imperialism must stop its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, pull out its troops and those of its satelites from Vietnam unconditionally and leave the Vietnamese people themselves to solve their own problems;
Expresses its full support and firm solidarity to the heroic Palestinian commandos in their just struggle to regain their homeland from the clutches of expansionist Zionism usurp;
Expresses its solidarity and full support to the people and Governments of the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan in their struggle to regain every inch of their territories occupied by expansionist Zionists since June 1967;
Expresses its full support and revolutionary solidarity with the people and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba in their struggle to defend their revolutionary independence against the Yankee imperialist economic blockade and other acts of war and provocation and sabotage;
To the revolutionary fighters in all Latin American countries who are fighting against oppressive and corrupt pro-Yankee imperialist dictatorships;
Expresses support and firm solidarity with heroic people of Laos and

other Asian people fighting against U.S. imperialism and its stooges especially the South Korean puppet regime;

Finally, the Congress expresses solid solidarity and support to our black American brothers and sisters and to all progressive American people who are fighting against imperialism and exploiting capitalism and for equal human rights and dignity for all. The Congress supports and expresses solidarity with the youth, students and workers in the capitalist Europe in their heroic struggle against the decadent establishment which brought death and destruction to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

7. THE CONGRESS:

Supports the Arusha Declaration and the policy of self-reliance as enunciated by Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party as the only effective road towards economic independence;
Supports the Mulungushi Reforms as enunciated by Dr. Kenneth Kaunda and the subsequent takeover of mines by the Zambian Government as, again, the only road towards economic independence.

8. THE CONGRESS:

Appreciates the material assistance given to the people of Namibia through their vanguard SWAPO by the Organization of African Unity (OAU);
Appreciates the bilateral assistance given to SWAPO by Algeria, United Arab Republic, Tanzania, Tunisia, Zambia, Sudan, Kenya and Ethiopia;
Appreciates material and moral support given to SWAPO by the Soviet Union, People's Republik of China, German Democratic Republic, Democratic Republic of Korea, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Mongolia;
Appreciates material and moral support given to SWAPO by progressive organizations and people in Finland, Sweden, Norway, Britain, France, Switzerland and U.S.

THE CONGRESS:

Appeals to all progressives and peoples of goodwill, Governments, organizations and individuals, to give practical material assistance to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) which is leading the struggle in Namibia for freedom and national independence.

Speech made by Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO to the Consultative Conference of SWAPO held in Tanga (Tanzania) from 26th to 31st December, 1969

Comrades and Friends,

Allow me to take this opportunity to welcome you all to the Consultative Congress of the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO).

Comrades and Friends,

First I would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, the Government, TANU, the Afro-Shirazi Party and to the People of Tanzania, whose unflinching support for the liberation struggle not only in Namibia, but in the whole of Southern Africa, made this historic Congress possible. Our thanks also go to the people of Tanga for the warm welcome they have accorded us.

We would also like to express our sincere gratitude to all those African states and to the OAU, whose support for the liberation struggle has been unwavering. Also, we would like to single out all the socialist and progressive countries both from Asia and Europe whose material and moral assistance has been invaluable to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

Comrades and Friends,

You will agree with me that the liberation struggle in Southern Africa is approaching its climax – a climax which, for all practical purposes and as a matter of historical inevitability – will result in massive violence and bloodshed. It must be noted here, that a final showdown between the freedom fighters and minority racist regimes in Southern Africa is much nearer than is imagined.

The activities of the freedom fighters have in fact ushered in a new epoch in the history and the struggle for liberation, not only in Namibia, but in the whole of Southern Africa. The 1960's can justly be termed the decade of African Freedom and independence. It is a decade in the course of which so many new nations emerged in the African continent. Having attained political independence, many of these new nations are fighting for their economic independence.

But it must be emphasised, as so many African Heads of States have done, that no African State can be truely independent as long as an inch of the Continent remains under foreign rule. It is here where the African freedom fighters come in.

This decade which is about to come to a close, as I have mentioned before, has seen the tide of freedom swept over the African continent as one country after another became independent. But then, the battle has not been completely won yet. Beyond the Zambezi, entrenched politically, economically and militarily lay the white minority regimes of Smith, Vorster and Caetano. In Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and in Guinea-Bissau, white minority racist regimes survive – only temporarily – because they are supported by the Western imperialist powers; because France, Britain, United States, Belgium, West Germany and Italy, have fabulous investments in Southern Africa; because these regimes are heavily armed by these imperialist powers.

The point that I am trying to make here is that, not only is the struggle for liberation in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and South Africa against the minority regimes, but it is also directed against the western imperialists who are supporting these racist regimes politically, economically and militarily.

Comrades and Friends,

What I have just said is not peculiar to the struggle in Southern Africa. For instance, our heroic Arab brothers are not only fighting against imperialism. No! There is a much powerful force behind Israel – the western imperialist. The heroic people of Vietnam are not only fighting against the American aggressors, but against the combined forces of all imperialist powers. One can go on like this. Thus, the enemy that confronts us, is not really the real enemy. Still, we cannot afford to overlook his viciousness.

In every revolution one must know one's enemies. This is a basic truism. Hence, if we are to succeed in Namibia as well as in the whole

of Southern Africa, we should analyse the enemy's tactics, methods and power scientifically and systematically. We should also be able to know who are our true friends and who are fakes. Above all, we must be vigilant at all times to keep the revolution pure of enemy agents and infiltrators. Perhaps more important all those who are in the vanguard of the revolution, must maintain a high degree of dedication, unselfishness and must be endowed with a sense of sacrifice for the common good of all Namibians.

The responsibility for the liberation of Namibia as well as that of the entire Southern Africa, rests with the Africans of that part of the continent. The independent African States, as well as the OAU and the progressive forces in the world can only help us; they cannot, however, fight our battles for us. We also know and accept that the liberation of Namibia and of Southern Africa, can only be achieved through armed struggle.

The people of Namibia have accepted armed struggle as the only way, and indeed the most effective way, to bring about the end of the South African racist regime in Namibia. For more than 40 years, we Namibians looked to the international community and especially to the United Nations Organization for deliverance. But later, this changed. On the 26th of August, 1966 – the day when the armed struggle was launched under the banner of SWAPO – decided to take our destiny in our hands.

Now three years have past since then. In those three years, we have made great strides towards the realisation of our final goal – which is the freedom and independence of our country. In those three years, we have gained much experience about the enemy and his methods, and experience, which would be of decisive significance in the years ahead.

The degree of our progress since the beginning of the armed struggle three years ago can best be measured in terms of the reactions of the South African Government. These are in a form of a series of legislation, inhuman and draconian in nature, which aim at the suppression of the Namibian revolution.

The first reaction of the racist Government of South Africa, following the launching of the armed struggle, was to extend to Namibia the Suppression of Communism Act. This was in November, 1966. This was shortly followed, on 2nd December to be precise, by the arrest of top SWAPO leaders at home and many other members of the Organization.

SWAPO freedom fighters were undeterred by this action. In fact, we carried the armed struggle aggressively forward. In a state of complete desperation, the racist Government of Vorster made its next move. This was the passing, in July, 1967, of the Anti-Terrorism Act. This Act, which was specifically enacted to deal with SWAPO freedom

fighters, defined freedom fighters as "terrorists" and calls for the death penalty for so-called "acts of terrorism".
Shortly after the passing of this Act, it was announced in Pretoria that 37 SWAPO freedom fighters would be tried for alleged "acts of terrorism" which, it was said, they had committed in "South West Africa". As you are all aware, these Comrades were sentenced from five years to life imprisonment. Many of them are now being held at Robben Island.
The armed struggle intensified inspite of these heavy sentences. Many of our Comrades have died in South African prisons and some are still rotting in Vorster's dungeons.
Our progress can also be measured in terms of the numerous ambushes, pitch battles and raids carried out by SWAPO freedom fighters in three Regions – Ovamboland, Okavango and the Caprivi Strip since the beginning of the armed struggle. Fighting between the SWAPO freedom fighters was so intense in the Caprivi Strip – between October and December, 1968 – and as a result of that more than, 3,500 Namibians fled to Zambia as refugees.

Comrades and Friends,

What we face in Namibia today is an enemy which is not only well armed and supported by the capitalist-imperialists, but an enemy who is also desperate. Since the beginning of the armed struggle, the number of fascist soldiers now stationed in Namibia stands at 15,000 men strong. These are soldiers who are not only fighting against our freedom fighters, but who are also at the same time terrorising innocent civilians.

Now in the whole of Southern Africa, the oppressed masses have taken up arms.

In Mozambique, African freedom fighters have liberated vast stretches of territory in northern Mozambique. The revolution in Mozambique is spreading gradually to the south and even if the Portuguese don't want to admit – as is obvious – a showdown is eminent. The Portuguese have lost the war in Mozambique because the people of Mozambique have taken up arms and nothing on earth can ever stop them.
Again in Angola, the Portuguese colonialists are fighting a lost war. Here also, freedom fighters, who have been active since the early sixties, have liberated vast stretches of territory. Nothing can push back this tide. The tide can only come to an end with Angolan independence.

The same is true of Guinea-Bissau. Freedom fighters have liberated practically the entire country. The only thing that remains in the grip of the Portuguese colonialists are the cities and the towns, and these

will definitely fall to the freedom fighters much sooner that the colonialists expect. This again is inevitable.
In Zimbabwe, African freedom fighters are battling with the combined forces of Vorster and Smith. Smith would have been defeated a long time ago, had it not been for the support of the British Government. The British Government has consciously, systematically and calculatedly supported the Smith rebellion which, it should have crushed at the very outset. The Fearless Talks, and Tigers Talks between Wilson and Smith were never really genuine. It was just an attempt to whitewash and to trick the world into believing that Britain was trying to do something. Now we know better! Now, the people of Zimbabwe have taken up arms and not even the British Government can stop them.
In South Africa itself, freedom fighters under the A.N.C. are operating, and very effectively as it has been proved recently, underground. The masses have rallied to the call for battle. In spite of the tight security and the brutality of the police, underground fighters have successfully carried out their work. Recently, leaflets suddenly appeared in major towns and cities and type recorded messages blared from public buildings calling the masses to battle. All this shows that a new phase has been opened in the struggle to defeat fascism.

Comrades and Friends,

I have cited all these examples to show that the entire Southern Africa is in a state of fervancy; that momentous events are taking place in this part of Africa; that the people not only in Namibia, but in the whole of Southern Africa have come to accept armed struggle as the only effective method through which to liberate themselves; that they are willing to sacrifice their lives for this noble goal.
It is against this background that this Congress must be understood. We are about to enter a new decade – the 1970's. We in Namibia want to make this decade a decisive one. In fact, it is our determination to fight bitterly, leaving no stone unturned, sparing no life or blood when it is called for, to see Namibia free and independent within the next decade. This is our solemn commitment; this is our solemn resolve.
Thus, this Congress is called upon to produce a master.

The Memorandum of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia to the Preparatory Meeting of the Non-Alignment Conference

The non-alignment Conference will soon take place, and the whole of the world is looking upon the success of the policy of non-alignment, which came into being as a result of the division of the world into military blocs and spheres of influences.

Here in the African continent, our people in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Comoros Islands, Somali Coast and Guinea-Bissau are waging a heroic struggle, to cast off the colonial yoke and achieve freedom and national independence. In all these countries, the people have stood up, some with arms in their hands to wage guerrilla warfare as in the case of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, while others are using other legal and illegal methods of struggle by the way of the conditions prevailing in their respective countries.

In this struggle, our people rely mostly on their own efforts, and secondly on the solidarity support given to our people by the friendly African states and other friendly countries beyond Africa. This solidarity assistance is in form of both material and moral support which are so vital to our struggle.

In this world of today, where the non-alignment policy is supposed to be at the centre, the South West Africa People's Organization is of the opinion that a new definition of who is non-aligned in the true sense of the word should be made, so that this Great Movement could remain true to the principles of non-alignment.

We of Namibia, who find ourselves in the mountains of our country in the defence of our revolution, are of the opinion that non-alignment as a policy and as a philosophy should take into consideration the question of imperialism.

The Peoples of the world in the countries which are non-aligned and in those countries who have either aligned themselves with one or other forces find themselves engaged in the struggle against imperialism, particularly the United States imperialism. From Vietnam to Cuba, and from the Middle East to Southern Africa, the people are struggling to defeat imperialism, Zionism and colonialism.

It is for this struggle, and the new phase of mankind's historical development that we cannot merely take the issue of non-alignment as a matter concerning countries who are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or the Warsaw Treaty.

SEATO, CENTO, the proposed South Atlantic Treaty Organization, which will comprise South Africa, the Portugese Colonies, and certain Latin American and Oceanian countries are aggressive and imperialistic military Organizations, aimed at suppressing the popular struggle of the people. From this point of view, whoever associate with these military blocs cannot in any way be regarded as non-aligned, because the alignment with American imperialism is clearly understood here. Again, we should like to know how one can be non-aligned on the question of the struggle against imperialism if the American imperialism is killing thousands of the Vietnamese people, and if the Namibian people are being massacred each day by the South African fascist authority, that aggressively occupied our country? How can we be inactive, if the sovereignties of the Republics of Tanzania, Senegal, Zambia, Guinea and the UAR are being threatened by the aggressive forces of the Portuguese colonialists, South African fascists and Israeli Zionists?

For the countries which are not committed to any military bloc or any regional Organization that serves the interests of international imperialism, there is only one road, and that is to struggle, jointly and defeat imperialism.

All the countries who are non-aligned have a duty to fulfill and that duty is that of assisting other countries to liberate themselves. It is a hard road on the side of the non-aligned countries since most of the countries who made up the non-aligned third force are those national states of Africa and Asia, who have just liberated themselves from colonialism, and whose economic and cultural links are in one

way or the other still linked up with those former colonial powers. Temporarily sacrifices will have to be prepared for, and even isolation and imperialist blackmail and economic embargoes will be endured by those countries who want to cast off their links with the imperialist forces, and hence giving their support to the liberation struggle of the oppressed people.

The Republic of Cuba in Latin America suffered from this situation, and some African and Asian countries experienced difficulties in one way or the other, when their policies were not understood by the imperialist forces.

In Africa, the Republic of Guinea suffered too much in the economical field, when the French colonialists were forced out of Guinea in 1958. There, telephone wires were cut off and office equipments were removed by the French colonialists in order to "force" the people of Guinea from their revolutionary cause. But thanks to the correctness of the cause of the Guinean revolution and the vigilance of the people were able to sustain the difficulties. In Tanzania, here too, a certain imperialist country wanted to threaten Tanzania with the economic aid, and tried to choose friends and foes for her. Tanzania, one of the most friendly countries in Africa did resist this.

This interference of brute type was rebufled, and the Tanzanian people continued their work with their revolutionary foreign policy of peace, anti-imperialism and non-alignment on the questions of military blocs.

The Namibian revolution is pureley national, and any foreign peculiarities it may have in one way or the other are just one of those things which linked our experience with those of other people who fought against tyranny and oppression of all kinds.

It is from this point of view, that we are calling upon the non-aligned countries to unite among themselves and with the National Liberation Movement of the colonial and other oppressed countries so as to achieve freedom and happiness of the whole mankind.

Unity of the non-aligned countries should have a special definition, which in most cases, must be anti-imperialist, for peace, national independence and social development. If there were no imperialism, and if there were no other countries benefiting from the exploitation of the so-called under developed and oppressed countries, this great gathering would have been devoted to sciences and other important things of life and for the development of mankind. Delegates should not have come here to appeal for the denounciation of the South African fascism, Portuguese colonialism and American imperialism, because they would have come here to discuss matters which are not of suffering, ignorance and other lots brought to mankind by imperialism, but should have proceeded with the problems which will not only profit

the politicians, but also, the broad masses of the people of the countries represented in this Preparatory meeting of the non-alignment Conference.

Distinguished Delegates!

The struggle of the oppressed people should be paramount in the non-aligned movement, because without this, mankind will remain all the times in bondages of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

For us in Namibia, a country which has been seized by the South African fascist rulers, and whose people are waging an armed guerrilla struggle since 1966, there is only one course, and that is to struggle and liberate ourselves.

The South African Government has been refusing to accept all the demands of our people, and the Resolutions of the United Nations which call for the immediate evacuation of the South Africa forces and its racialist administration in Namibia. It has rejected all these, and there is no sign at this moment that South Africa, under the present rulers will ever comply with any UN resolution or to any popular demand of the Namibian people.

What we need from each and every independent country of the world, is the recognition of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) as the legal representative body of the people of Namibia; and that practical assistance should be given to the struggle of the Namibian people through their representative body, the South West Africa People's Organization.

At the United Nations, we demand that SWAPO be given fuller participation in the activities and decision making in the COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA; and that all Governments recognised the Council for Namibia should relinquish their co-operation with South Africa on the matters related to Namibia, and should then recognise SWAPO as the spokesman of the people of Namibia in all fields – political as well as diplomatic relations.

We do not, however, demand at this stage, that the UN member states should give full diplomatic recognition to a Political Movement at the Ambassodorial level, but to give all facilities to SWAPO, including the establishment of the SWAPO Missions if need be in each of the UN member states, by which such a mission should enjoy both political and diplomatic immunities in the same way as those between UN member states.

In this struggle, we need the co-operation of the non-aligned member states of the United Nations Organization.

Already, the South West Africa People's Organization enjoys these rights in the independent African States, such as Tanzania, Algeria, the United Arab Republic and the Republic of Zambia.

In these countries, there is no representative of the fascist South African Government, and our people are represented only by SWAPO; which also gets full political and material support to facilitate the Namibian freedom fighters to carry on with their struggle.

At the Organization of African Unity, our movement has also gained support and prestige. Various supports – political, moral and material – were and are always forthcoming, as long we are making all the efforts to liberate ourselves. This kind of healthy relation, based on the principles of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism is what we demand from the non-aligned countries.

Your Excellencies and Honourable Delegates!

The struggle for the liberation of the Namibian and other colonial peoples is a struggle for mankind as a whole.

Which country can be free, if the South African fascist regime is threatening the independence of other countries and made itself to be a "master" of the whole South Atlantic, Indian Ocean and as far "South as Antarctica", as the fascist South African Defence Minister once boasted?

Some progress here and there have been made by the guerrillas in our country, but this is far from enough to defeat the enemy, who has already stretched his tentacle hands as far as Angola, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

South African Apartheid Regime, which has been proclaimed as criminal to mankind is doing all these by using the aids she gets from the imperialist countries, such as the United States of America, Britain, France and West Germany, as well as the financial investments from Italy, Japan and Switzerland.

The financial aid, or these settlements of financial capital in South Africa are being used to strengthen the South African war economy, and cause trouble in the whole of Southern Africa, where peace and orderly development of the young independent African States will be disrupted.

The South African Army, which stands at the figure of 39,700 regular, or 85,500 when fully mobilized and 102,700 para-militarists; 45,800 reservists; 32,700 police force and the so-called SKIET KOMMANDO numbering 58,000 has a budget for 1969/70 of R 272,000,000 ($ 381,000,000). This money is from the royalties from the foreign companies operating in South Africa or the private settlers' companies who have developed in South Africa since the turn of this century.

The militarization of the South African regime, which has already made itself to be the regional gendarme of the whole of our Southern Africa can only be checked, if militant struggle can be waged by our people internally, and by the positive and solidarity actions of the peace-loving and non-aligned countries outside South Africa.

In Commemoration of the fourth Anniversary of the Namibian armed revolution

Exactly four years ago (August 26, 1966) the struggle for the liberation of our fatherland reached a stage of cardinal momentum. The people of Namibia view the date of August 26, 1966 as an historical one, which will be remembered by our people forever. This date is unprecedented because on it, our revolutionary forces launched their first assault on the enemy. It is the date which bears testimony to the futility of peaceful protests and of diplomatic petitions as sole substitutes for revolutionary action. Above all this is the day that illuminates basic realization by our people of their strength to stand up and fight so that in the future their children may live in peace.

As we pace along the revolutionary path, we wish to make evaluation of the entire process. This includes the complete analysis of our success or setbacks, steps that must be taken to improve our effectiveness in both our political and military endeavors because we believe that parallel politico-military actions are supplementary to each other and should be applied with equal force.

Rebellions or attempts thereof have often the same denominator. This is more so with social revolutions.

In Namibia today there exists antagonism between the people and the racist oppressors of the Pretoria regime. This antagonism arises from the merciless exploitation of our people by the white aggressors and their backers, the international monopolists.

To maintain and solidify their dominant position, the racists resorted to brutal measures of oppression and repression. This is why they have hunted the leaders of our people like dogs. SWAPO realizes that these acts on the part of the racists would not stop unless the people, determined as in their struggle, and with a clear vision of what needs to be accomplished, take effective measures to counter them. It is the objective conditions in our country, therefore, together with subjective will that lead SWAPO and the Namibian people as a whole to take up arms.

Armed resistance is the only effective mean of expression that a stubborn foe like the Boers will understand. We had for some time, tried to appeal to the conscience of the colonialists, but all our cry for national independence and freedom fell on deaf ears. Inevitably the war of liberation was declared by our people under the leadership of our movement, SWAPO. It took us painful deliberations to come to such a decision which has far reaching implications.

War is essentialy brutal. It calls for the highest sacrifices. The price we have to pay is enormous. We are prepared, however, to endure all hardships in order to liberate our territory from the plundering reactionaries. We are unshakable in our belief that there is no other avenue open for us. Thus we took the only recourse left to us.

Although our revolution is actually a Namibian one, fought for and by the Namibians themselves, we have and will in the future utilize tactical and strategical examples which other revolutions have to offer. In broad sense, our revolution is linked to other revolutions the world over.

We have realized that although the battle fields are geographically separated from each other, the enemy we face is essentially the same. It is just natural, therefore, that our revolution calls for compact unity of action of all revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world. When this unity is fully realized, as it must be, the enemy will then be defeated internationally.

A flashback into our people's history will reveal some brilliant features of our people's resistance against foreign invaders. The German imperialists were met with a war of resistance (1904–1907) and so were the Portuguese (1916–1917) who invaded our land from the North. These wars imposed on our peaceloving peasants by foreign capitalists ended in subjugation of our entire people.

The War we are waging now is in essence a continuation of previous battles with some minor exceptions. First the earlier resistance wars were fought on regional rather than on national scale. Second, they lacked international analytical base. The present struggle is characterized by popular national participation of the majority of the peasants and workers. It is jealously guided by the concept of internationalism.

We believe that although territories where these liberatory wars are fought differ, the enemy against whom they are fought is the same.
The last four years of the armed struggle has taught us lessons in regard to the fascists' repressive tactics. These measures include:
(a) Arbitrary arrests and continuous detention of our members without trial.
(b) The banning of SWAPO as a political movement.
(c) Creation of infamous Bantustan.
The arbitrary arrests and detention of our leaders and cadres is seriously affecting the organization's structure within the country. The enemy hopes to isolate the people from their heroes so that he can claim, like he has said time after time, that our party lacks active support of the whole population.
Although it did not come as a surprise, the banning of SWAPO was one of the many steps taken in the name of what is called "Law" by the Boers, to prosecute our patriots under "legal" codes we do not recognize. These criminal undertakings on the part of South Africa have shaken, but not destroyed, our Organization's infrastructure.

The latter one, to our opinion, is the most serious device the regime is using to create confusion and general division of our people. By their very nature, Bantustans are hatched to create indigenous puppets who can be used as obedient servants of the government. Opportunists represented by demagogic chiefs see opportunity in these imaginary "self rules" to further their own personal gains. These forces constitute functional enemies of our movement and our movement considers them as enemies proper.

The combined actions of the enemy who is organically bent to defend his so-called interests and that of his accessories have slowed down our march towards national liberation, but have not stopped completely our revolutionary forward thrust.

Progress is being made an both political and military fields inspite of the enemy's general desperate counter-revolutionary war. We can therefore declare that South Africa cannot and will not succeed in suppressing this popular resistance. As our people learn more of her intentions and her methods of achieving her heinous aims, they heighten their vigilance even more. The ever increasing pronouncements by the enemy's own press of several incidents of what is called "terrorism" are final proof of our stepped up liberatory war.

Thorough review of the structure of the organizational machinery was made at the historical Tanga Consultative Congress. The Tanga Declaration which was issued at the Congress reaffirms SWAPO's unshakable determination to carry out the struggle to its logical end. But real improvement of the revolutionary work can only be secured if all the members of SWAPO including their leaders are drawn into this work and share the hazard of war with the people.

Departments dealing with specific matters concerning politico-military affairs were established. In all a solid declaration and commitment was made to carry out the battle of destiny until victory is achieved.

In the sphere of international relations, SWAPO expressed her cooperation with the United Nations which it believes has a special role to play in the future shaping of events concerning Namibia. SWAPO urges U.N. member states to adhere and conduct their policy in accordance with the spirit of U.N. Charter.

Recommendations were made which if vigorously carried out would ensure South African evacuation from our territory. The Special Committee on Namibia was one again reminded of its sacred duty to carry out resolutions passed by the General Assembly. The use of force under the U.N. Charter was suggested as the most relevant step the U.N. can take against Pretoria in order that overdue justice be done to Namibians. No persuasive dialogue with South Africa would force her to reconsider the belligerent and vicious intentions she possesses against our country.

In response to suggestion made by certain U.N. member nations that SWAPO form a government in exile, SWAPO has unequivocally declared that such a government is unworkable. This rejection of the idea underscores SWAPO's belief that a government in exile would create illusions in our people and would in fact weaken the people's will to fight for real and complete emancipation of our fatherland. We ask nothing more beyond or below our rightful right to complete national independence.

On the issue of U.N. passports, our view is that such passport must be controlled by SWAPO which is responsible for Namibians abroad. If not properly regulated by a relevant organ, these passports will be used by counter-revolutionary renegades to undermine the people's revolutionary movement. They will also be improperly used by certain elements whose purpose is to travel all over the world with no intention whatsoever. In addition SWAPO demands that our organization be recognized and awarded the status of sole and legitimate representative of Namibia. This must be preceeded by complete disengagement from cooperation with South Africa by all U.N. members.

SWAPO has reaffirmed its total commitment to the concept of both O.A.U. and of the non-alighed nations. However, we qualify our relationship with these two associations.

When we say we are Pan-Africanists we do not imply our total cooperation with any African regime even though its declared policy is to work hand in hand with our enemy-imperialism.

To do so would amount to betrayal of humanity, it would be reactionary and self-defeating. This ideological principle also applies to the concept of positive neutrality. In this respect, we will cooperate in good spirit with any of the third world nations and with their institu-

tions provided these nations work against international exploiters of their peoples. We'll not cooperate with puppet states tele-manufactured by imperialism. As a matter of fact, we'll work with progressive people who strive to wipe out puppet regimes from the face of the earth.

Finally, SWAPO believes that world peace and harmony can only be realized when all people are free from exploitation. To eradicate social antagonism is a task that demands revolutionary application of people's power to counter-act, the power of world capitalism which manifests itself in racism, colonialism and fascism. To this end, we will spare no energy.

The Namibian people, through their representative body, SWAPO, thanks the African States – particularly those O.A.U. member states who have been giving us assistance through the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, and those who give their assistance directly to our fighting people. Also, our gratitude goes to the countries of the socialist camp, and the democratic organizations in Western countries, who have been giving us moral, political and material assistance.

Our militant solidarity goes to the heroic Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian people, who are in the front lines to resist United States' imperialist aggression against the Indo-Chinese people.

We support the brotherly people of Cuba and other Latin American peoples in their struggle against the aggression of U.S. imperialist monopolies.

We support the Afro-American people and their movements against racism, and for social liberation from the United States' oppressive and internal colonial system.

We salute our heroic comrades in arms, the participants in the National Liberation movement of the Peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Guinea – Bissau! We greet the people of Palestine and other Arab countries in their struggle against the Israeli-Zionist occupation of their great Arab homeland!

Long live the Namibian people!

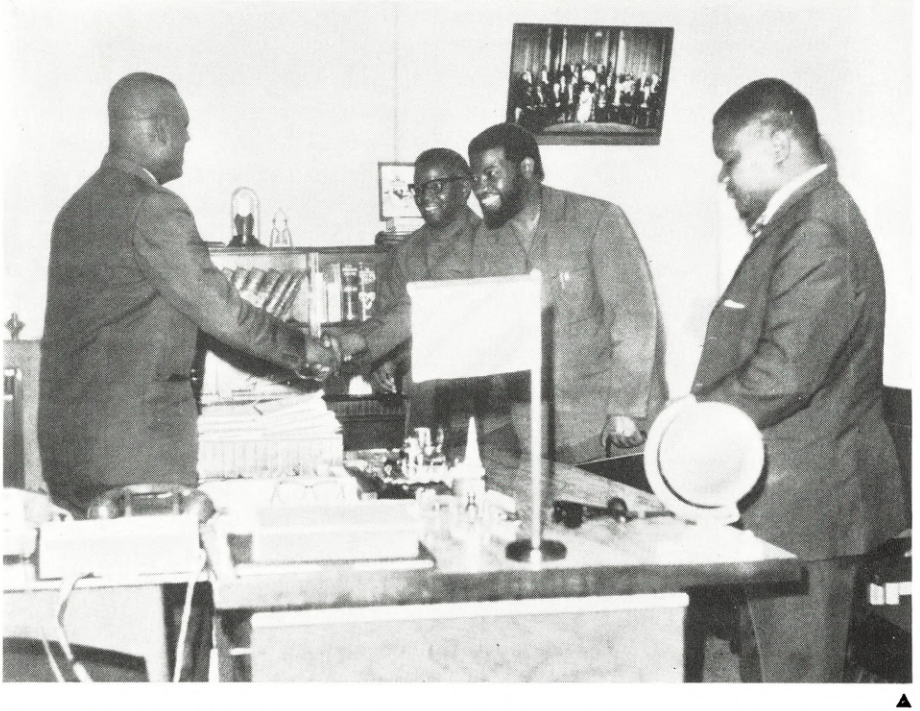
Long live the SWAPO, and its heroic People's Liberation Army of Namibia – PLAN!

Long live the 26th of August!

EVER ONWARD TO VICTORY!

THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) OF NAMIBIA

DAR-ES-SALAAM AUGUST 26, 1970



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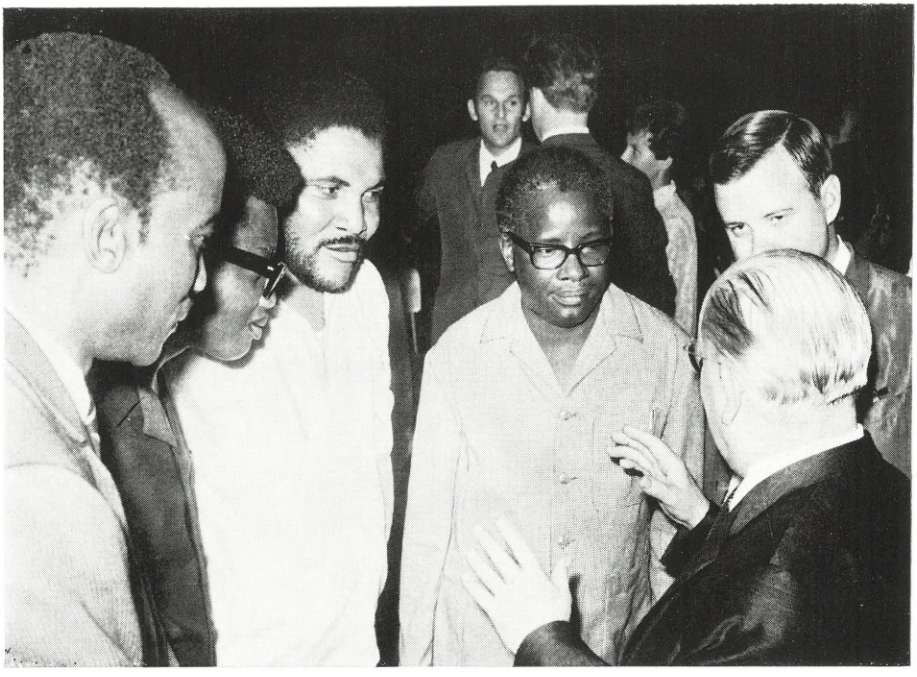
Our President, Comrade Sam Nujoma, and Comrade Peter Mueshihange, Swapo's Secretary for International Relations met the Sierra Leonean Premier, Dr. Siaka Stevens, in Freetown on July . . . looking at the Sierra Leonian Minister for Foreign Affairs.
Dr. Stevens assured SWAPO leaders of Sierra Leones support for the Namibian people.

A Namibian soldier for the liberation at alert.

▲

We are today in the bush, and countryside, but we shall take over the cities in future as well.

It is not the love of adventure that brought us to the mountains, but the awareness of our historical mission.



GDR. Foreign Minister talks to the SWAPO leaders in Dar-es-Salaam. He assured our representatives of the GDR's support for the Namibian Liberation Movement.

List shall we forget Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, leader of the Mozambican people, and great friend of the Namibian people.

The Secretary General of the Islamic People's Party of Mauritania received Comrade Peter Mueshihange, on July 8, 70 in Nounkchott, Mauritania. He assured our representative of Mauritania's unconditional support till freedom and independence of the Namibian people is achieved.

While Namibia is rich in minerals, its children die of hunger and some die before the age of two. Such is the consequence of the South African „civilization" in Namibia.

Why Namibia?

Why Namibia? "South West Africa" is essentially a misnaming of our country. It is a general geographical description which could equally apply to other countries such as Angola, in other words, this name is reminiscent of colonial arbitrariness. As such, it can only be understood in terms of colonial logic whose main promise is territorial acquisition and expansion. When the Germans arrived in "South West Africa" in the 1870's they had an idea that to the north of that territory they came to colonize lies the Portuguese colony of Angola. They also knew that to the South was the Dutch English controlled South Africa. The German colonialists did not, however know precisely where the boundaries of these two colonies were in relation to their intended colony of "German South West Africa". Thus, they thought it wise to give their colony such a general name with a view to expend it gradually in that region as vastly as their neighbouring colonial powers could allow. The original German colonial settlement was established in the central part of "German South West Africa," sometimes referred to as Hereroland or Damaraland. But as time went on this colonial possession was expanded to included Namaqualand to the Southend beyond Onamutoni to include Ovamboland to the North. The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) which repre-

sents the broad masses of our people, – considers the name "South West Africa" as a gross inappropriate delineation of our Father-land's image. Against this background, our people unde the political leadership of SWAPO, had adopted Namibia as the logical name of our country. The choice of the name Namibia is not necessarily governed by historical nostalgia. Rather, it is predicated on some essential features of the geographical nature of our national home land. This name is derived from the "Namib" on the coastal desert of "South West Africa." NAMIB, is a Nama/Damara word, literally means the "shield or enclosure," "I" represents the click stress in pronunciation. The Namib runs 850 miles from the Cunene River on Namibia – Angola to the Orange River to the South African-Namibia boarder, with a width varying from 30 to 80 miles. Thus, it constitutes a natural shield to this country and it is important to recall that the Portuguese navigators sailed along the "South West Africa" coast as early as the 15th century but were unable to penetrate into the interior because of this grossly disencouraging shield. It should also be remembered that coastal peoples throughout Africa had been the immediate victims of European colonialism and slavery. It is equally significant to remember that "South West Africa" was among the last territories in Africa to be colonized. The above quotation of Noel Moster suffice to explain the reason why.

From the defense point of view, the Namib has thus played a historical role to the African communities of "South West Africa." It can be of the same importance to any independent nation. Though bare of vegetation, the Namib is a desert where diamonds have been found laying upon the ground as thick as plums under a tree! The Luderitz district is one of the richest alluvial sources of diamonds in Africa.

The Namib region rolls down to a freezing sea which is filled by the cold Benguela current which comes up from the Antartic to form this coast, one of the World's richest fishing grounds. Here whales, seals, land penguins come ashore from the Antartic icy waters to walkon the Namibian soil. The productive fishing industries of Walvis Bay, Luderitz and Cape Cross are graphic testimony to the extraordinary significance of the Namib.

Remarking upon the Namib, Walter Fitzgerald wrote: It possesses two of the finest natural harbours in the subcontinent, Walvis Bay and Luderitz. The former facing the north is well sheltered and deep enough to allow large vessels to go alongside. Walvis is, indeed, a very busy port today where a great number of ships from all over the world enter daily.

Furthermore, the various sorts of fishes which run off the coast and tens of thousands of guane producing birds which cloud the sky constitute such a vivid versatility of the Namib, unknown of any other desert in the world, conceived from these perspectives, the NAMIB,

we believe, is not just a wasted land of the dunes, but a resourceful region. The natural defense shield, the rich fishing ground, and the diamond fields, of the NAMIB are valuable attributes of our national territory. This is the reason why we have chosen to call our country Namibia – the land of the Namib.

The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) have both embraced Namibia as the genuine name of that nation. The adoption of this name by the African nations and the UN is in conformity with the principles of self-determination. For, it is we, the people of Namibia, who must ultimately shape our own destiny and identity. And we call it Namibia.

Equally, we are, however, aware of the forces in the world and in the United Nations that are opposed all out against the name Namibia. An example of such tangentiality was the view expressed during the twenty-second session of the General Assembly by the British Delegate when he said that he doubted as to whether all the people of Namibia were consulted about the name "Namibia". But, of course, this is a lame excuse of intend. The truth is that the British UN Delegate – on behalf of his Government – wants to cling desperately to that misname "South West Africa" which originated from the infamous Berlin Conference of 1884–85 in which the British and other European imperialist countries carved up Africa amongst themselves, Hence the Representative of British imperialism at UN has the audacity to question the name NAMIBIA which originated from the natural owners of the territory.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLES ORGANIZATION (SWAPO)

Before 1917 – Until 1890 Namibia had been ruled by well organized tribal authorities. The most famous of these were chief Witbooi of the Nama, King Mandume of the Ovambo and Samuel Maharero, of the Herero. These three chiefs resisted the invasion of their country by the Germans from the South and the Portuguese from the South and the Portuguese from the North. As early as 1890 the Nama came out in open war against the invaders. The Herero followed in 1904. The Herero – Nama war against the Germans ended in 1907. In 1917 King Mandume fought against the Portuguese and the South African, but was eventually defeated.

The Germans conducted what they called a war of extermination against the Nama and the Herero. When this war came to an end, the African population had been reduced with two thirds. With the crushing of these uprisings, the African armed resistance came temporarily to an end.

1955. – The Bandung Conference, followed by the independence of Ghana, had a great impact upon the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa. These elements, plus the mounting oppression of the African,

were the main sources of inspiration to those gallant Namibians who started the first supratribal resistance.

1957. – Young Namibians, lead by Mr. Herman Toivo ja Toivo, who were working in Cape Town and mining industries in other parts of South Africa, formed the Ovamboland People's Congress (O.P.C.). The main aims of the organization were to prepare the Namibian workers for their role in a national resistance movement as well as safeguarding their interests in South Africa.

1958. – The increasing support of O.P.C. spread to Namibia and the name was changed to Ovamboland People's Organization (O.P.C.) now with Mr. Sam Nujoma as the President.

1959. – Although the name Ovamboland People's Organization (O.P.O.) may seem to denote a regional group, this movement united the majority of the workers of Namibia into a united force. In 1959 it became necessary not only to enlarge the Executive Committee and to establish branches in the industrial areas but also to give the movement a name which corresponded to its aspirations. Preparations for this set-up were underway when police fired on a crowd of peaceful demonstrators, killing 11 and wounding more than 50.

1960. – This year the name of Ovamboland People's Organization was changed to the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). The executive was enlarged, embracing all the ethnic groupings of Namibia with the exception of the Caprivi region; this was due to the restricting laws of the South African regime.

1961. – The events of December 1959 resulted in restrictions and deportations of SWAPO leaders and executive members. Some were restricted to their home areas; others were sent to remote areas, among these was the President, Mr. Sam Njoma. The organization managed to rescue the President and a few others and to send them out of the country. This year also saw a new set-up inside the country. The executive in Windhoek was re-organized and so were the branches all over the country.

1962. – A secret conference of SWAPO took place and passed, among others, a resolution which stated that political and military activities inside the country are not contradictory but supplementary and should be persued concurrently. This decision marked a new phase in the history of SWAPO. This year SWAPO also started a military training programme that resulted in the formation of the Namibian Liberation Army, the military wing of SWAPO. Furthermore, a broader academic training programme was set up for Namibian leadership. A three-stage programme for political education was introduced. This programme included.

1. Educating the masses to realize that independence of Namibia is the sole responsibility of the Namibians themselves.

2. Preparing the masses for eventual armed struggle.

3. Preparing the peoples for their role in a liberation struggle and the setting up of military bases inside the country.

1963–64. – The three stage programme was in full swing at the end of 1964 when the first trained men set up a camp inside Namibia. In the latter half of 1964 a regional organization in the Caprivi Region, The Caprivi African National Union (CANU) relinguished its independent status and joined SWAPO, rank and file. This completed the efforts to create unity which SWAPO had made since its formation.

1965. – This year marked the intensification of politico-military education of the population; and small military cells were established in three regions of Namibia. The people joined the training to such an extent that more training officers had to be sent inside the country to cope with the increasing demands. The training camps were constantly on the move and they got the name "ROVING CAMPS."

1966. – The 18th of July, 1966 marked a turn in the history of Namibia. On this turn in the history of Namibia. On this date the International Court of Justice in the Hague passed judgement pro-South Africa verdiction in the case which was filed against her by Ethopia and Liberia in 1960. All the dreams and hopes of achieving independence by peaceful means were broken. Consequently, on the 26th of August, 1966, the armed struggle was launched. The action on this day clearly showed that Namibia no longer is an isolated piece of land, a victim of the South African fascist regime, but a part of the world-wide struggle for the total emancipation of the oppressed. The treacherous activities of the Western Powers (US, Britain and France) in the United Nations and the International Court of Justice could no longer be tolerated; neither could they be allowed to hinder a people, determined to carry this revolution to its logical conclusion.

1967. – At the end of 1966 a number of our leaders together with over 200 others, were arrested. They were accused of intending to overthrow the South African rule in our country. The year 1967 saw the enactment of the notorious Terrorism Act 1967. The Act was rushed through the allwhite Parliament, specifically to deal with the arrested men. In the second half of 1967 our military strategy was reorganized and new tactics adopted, tactics based on experiences acquired during the battle and suited to our particular situation.

1968. – In February 1968 judgement was passed on the 37 men who were charged under the Terrorism Act. 9 were sentenced to life imprisonment and 20 were given 20 years imprisonment. Others were given prison sentences ranging from 5 to 3 years, 2 were acquitted and one man was tortured to death while in prison. Guerrillà activities in Namibia increased steadily during the months of February, March, April and May.

The second half of the year saw attacks on the enemy carried out simultaneously in three different regions. The result was that the South

African Army and Police poisoned the water sources in the area and burned out large stretch of land. These inhuman atrocities had no effect on the fighters, but seriously harmed the civilian population in the region. These actions on the part of the enemy only reveal his panic. Surely, nothing in this world can stop a people's determination to regain their legitimate rights.

ECONOMIC CONDITION:

Economy experts argue that between 1946 and 1956, Namibia's real income per capita increased at a rate of 2 per cent a year and this (to the capitalist experts) is a feat unequalled even in Japan or West Germany. For whose benefit are all these so-called economic booms? Does the territory of Namibia or its black toiling masses draw advantages from these economical feats?

There is no doubt that the backbone of the Namibian economy are the mineral resources, especially diamond output. The Consolidated Diamond Mines of Harry Oppenheimer rates in profits over 19,000,000 pounds sterling from Namibia every year and this plunder has been going on uninterruptedly since the company started mining diamonds in 1883. A Texas (USA) millionaire Sammy Collins is also dredging up some 20,000 carats of diamonds monthly from the ocean botton of Namibian coast. The Consolidated Diamond Mines has its claws on 98% of the total diamond output in Namibia, the second largest producer of gem diamonds in the world. And gem diamonds are in such great demand internationally that imperfect diamonds, which formerly might have been used for industrial purposes, were now being brought by merchants for polishing as gem atones.

But diamonds are not the only minerals which foreign monopolies are exploiting in Namibia. In this vast land, equal in area to France and West Germany put together and holding just a million inhabitants, are to be found a wide variety of minerals such as copper, concentrates of lead, zinc and vanadium in various concentrates and combinations, manganese, lime and marble, germanium, tin and salt, kyanite, beryl, bismuth, phosphates tantalite, and tungsten and lithium ores are also mined on a small scale. In addition, gold, semiprecious stones, feldspar and fluorspar are produced.

In Tsumeb, one of the world's great basemetal mines, a corporation jointly owned by the USA's Newmont Mining Corporation and the American Metal Climax, Inc., extracts between 40 million and 50 million dollars' worth of copper, lead, zinc, silver and germanium.

Namibia is indeed the world's leading source of base metals. In 1962 it ranked 10th among world producers of lead and was the second largest producer in Africa, following Morocco, Namibia is also the

third largest world producer of vanadium, following the United States of America and South Africa.

Among other industries on which foreign monopolies have a tight grip are fisheries, karakul farming and beef and cattle raising. Fisheries are one of Namibia's main economic assets. The country possesses an extensive coastline and the off-shore waters of the Atlantic Ocean in this region of Southern Africa are counted among the rich fishing areas of the world. A great variety of marine life is to be found, and by far the most important are sardines, which breed prolifically and are found in large schools, especially along the shores near Walvis Bay, and rock lobster which cling to the rocky beds of the sea-floor near Luderitz.

Karakul sheep is bred for its pelt which is dold on the world market under the name of Persian lamb. In London and other international markets, the pelt is known under the name of SWAKARA South West African Karakul. Namibia is today the principle producer of this pelt, producing on the average 2,500,000 out of the 4.5 million market annually.

Who then are the monopolies who are responsible for this large scale plunder of the wealth of the country? As we have pointed out before, they are the absentee owners, like the American Climax, Consolidated Diamond Mines, etc. with their directors sitting in New York, London, Bruselles, Bonn and Tokyo. On October 14, 1964, the representative of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) summed up their activities before the United Nations Sub-Committee of International Companies in Namibia thus: The ruthless suppression of any move by the Africans in these countries toward gaining their rights and independence is a necessity to the largest international monopolies for the sake of so called stabilization and security on the area of greatest concentration of their capital. Being profoundly interested in such guarantees, the United Kingdom, United States, Belgium and other monopolies which are active in the mining industries and which have laid deep roots in those parts of Africa wish to preserve colonial methods in those areas at any price, for those methods secure them the largest profits. He went on to say that the monopolies, feeling the ground burning under their feet, were hurrying to do business, to make money while there was still time.

This fact to them hurrying to make money while there is still time is no small matter and could have the darkest consequences for the future of Namibia economy. As a rule, only those deposits with the highest mineral content are worked – those which could be exploited without risk of major capital investment. This brings about the draining away of the most accessible mineral reserves of Namibia with each passing year, and Namibia is running the risk of finding itself, in the not-too-distant future, without the raw material supply that is so vital to the

development of processing industries. If the looting goes on at this pace the country will, according to recent United Nations estimates, be exhausted of copper and diamonds within the next 20 years.

These foreign monopolies operating in Namibia are not interested in establishing any sort of balance economy in the country. Neither are they developing processing industries, capable of turning out goods for the country's domestic market and thus of competing with similar industries in the capitalist countries. In as much as the mining industry is the branch of the Namibian economy in which foreign capital make the biggest profits, investments are mainly directed into this industry. Furthermore, the profits earned in the country are not reinvested there, but are allowed to flow freely out to the United Kingdom, United States, West Germany and South Africa, because the Vorster Government, as the obedient tool of the monopolies and their ally plundering the African people, in no way restricts such transfers.

Meanwhile Africans have absolutely no share in the vast resources of their country. Instead they are recruited to work in the mines on a contract labour basis; system of forced labour not far removed from the days of slavery. Due to the ban of African trade union movements, they are given no choice as regards the type of work they will have to do; nor have they any to say what-so-ever about the conditions of their employment and pay.

Now all have changed. Since the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) was founded we have been able to drive home to the people that the one and the only way for them to be relieved of the oppressive yoke was for them to mobilize and fight on all fronts. It is also lucidly clear that the only props that are supporting the apartheid regime and its illegal occupation of Namibia are the foreign monopolists – in league with their respective imperialist governments. Once they are driven out the Vorster administration of Namibia will collapse like a pack of cards. It is only then that the people themselves will have the means of production and resources in their own hands. That is why the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) have declared an armed revolution since August 26, 1966. We are well aware that there is no point in getting rid of Vorster while these remain in foreign hands. There shall have been little change if we only strike at the puppet; we must also hit just as hard at the puppeteers.

At the present rate of guerrilla war expansion in the whole Southern Africa, South Africa – the real pillar of the white supremacist fortress – will, in addition to those already in Namibia and Zimbabwe, soon be compelled to send its armed forces to Angola and Mozambique. By so doing she could not avoid over extending herself.

Guerilla, on the other hand, for some time to come, will be faced with logistic problems since some black client states of South Africa–the

Malawi Lesotho type—will most likely continue with their present policies of subservience to the white racist mentors. Faces with these realities, SWAPO is fully convinced that the struggle in Southern Africa is so interlinked that close co-operation among the authentic liberation movements is a matter of urgent necessity. Fully convinced of the threat that the white Fascist regimes pose to Africa and the world in general, we feel that the progressive international community has an obligation to fulfil towards the total liberation of Southern Africa.

RISING TEMPO OF GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES

The revolutionary flames ranging throughout Namibia today is not because of the denial of a ballot to the African masses but is because of the right for any people to be able to be masters of their own destiny, a revolutionary confrontation is not only inevitable but is an absolute necessity. This right to shape our own destiny through any method we see fit neither questionable nor negotiable. It is the people of Namibia themselves who not only have to bear the burden, but also the consequences arising there from, because it is we, the people of Namibia who advocate for a complete change.

It is in this context that the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), the undisputable representation of the toiling masses of Namibia, has embarked upon armed revolution commenced August 26, 1966. Ever since the launching of the armed struggle the Namibia Liberation Army—the military wing of SWAPO—has steadily widened the zones of Operation covering four regions: 1) Northern Region—Ocambe land and Okavango—, II) Northwestern Region—Kaokoveld, III) Grootfontein Dristrict in Central Region and IV) Northeastern Region—Caprivi Strip, the scene of the recent heavy fighting (For detailed information see SWAPO information bulletins).

This progressive development of our armed struggle is the key to the culmination of the Namibian revolution. To make a realistic assessment of the overall situation in this territory, it is necessary to analyze the variables which militate against the speedy advancement of the struggle as well as those which foster it. The Namibian freedom fighters are faced with an enemy whose machines are highly advanced. This enemy has equally possessed an unlimited capacity for brutality. The guerilla activity has provoked savage reprisals against the masses with no alternative but to join the armed struggle. It is no longer possible for the enemy to halt this momentum generating from the people themselves.

A letter from prison

ON THE 9TH FEBRUARY 1968, THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA ILLEGALLY SENTENCED 35 SWAPO FREEDOM FIGHTERS TO VARIOUS TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT ON CHARGES OF TERRORISM RANKING FROM LIFE TO TWENTY YEARS. ONE OF THEM MANAGED TO SMUGGLE OUT A LETTER WHICH TELLS OF HIS ARREST AND THE SUBSEQUENT ORDEAL IN VORSTER'S DUNGEONS. HERE WE REPRODUCE THE SAID LETTER.

Because of the previous night's clandestine meetings—meetings which went on till the early hours of the morning—I remained in bed until late, only to be awakened by a loud crashing noise on the door of my house in Windhoek's Old Location. This was the polite knocking of the South African Police. I got up, dressed and quickly opened the door and on opening, I found myself looking straight into the fierce blue eyes and red freckled faces of two uniformed South African Police.

One of them held some papers in his hand. I assumed that one of those must be the warrout for my arrest. I had guessed right. As I was about to speak, I was ordered in these words: „Go and say goodbye to your family for you won't see them, I think, for a very long time. You have only five minutes."

I have seen this coming for a long time. So did my wife. To her, as well as to my three children, this wasn't the first time I was being taken away from them by the Police. I had made routine trips to the Police Station now and then for questioning. This was however the first time when I had to say goodbye to them for an indefinite period. In the bedroom my wife met me with weary eyes. I said goodbye. My children began to cry and I had to struggle to hold my tears back. It was a bitter parting which I could never forget. Before I was through speaking to my wife, I was dragged away and literally thrown into a Land Rover. They then took me to Windhoek Police Station where some of my colleagues were already held.

On the same day, I was put with three of my colleagues on a military plane and flown hundreds and thousands of miles away from our motherland. After a wearysome journey, the plane tilted and glided down. This was the Pretoria military base and here again, we were thrown in a Land Rover and driven to Central Prison—our new home, if you can call it that. This was the beginning of long suffering for all of us who, like many of our compatriots have dedicated our lives to the freedom of our country.

My Lord, we find ourselves here in a foreign country, convicted under laws made by people whom we always consider as foreigners . . . We are far away from our homes; not a single member of our families has come to visit us, never mind be present at the trial.—Herman Ja Toivo, speaking in the Supreme Court of South Africa.

Today, I am among the 19 of the 35 who are serving life imprisonment. The days, weeks and months following our arrival in Pretoria—that is before the formal opening of the trial—have been the most unhappy time for all of us. Cries of agony as some are being beaten up and insults hurled at us every minute of the day. Inhuman torture such as electric shocks following a cold shower or being suspended upside down from a ceiling have been our daily lot. Solitary confinement reduces one to a miserable state such as I could never describe.

The South African Government has again shown its strength by detaining us for as long as it pleased; keeping come of us in solitary confinement for 300 to 400 . . . Herman Ja Toivo

All the week, Monday through Sunday, we faced our interrogators. Sunday was supposed to be the day for rest and prayers but even then interrogations continued. On Sundays we are given a light brownish liquid–which we are told is "medicine" for our stomachs. Upon taking this so-called "medicine", the result is always that all of us are afflicted by–if you please–diarrhoea. Imagine 12 of us, in a cell meant for five people, suffering from diarrhoea at the same time. There ist a small bucket in the corner of the cell which serves as a latrine. The bucket overflows on many occasions but still we have to queue to make use of the overflowing bucket. The entire cell, when this happens, is permeated with the most disgusting stench from the overflowing human excrement. Incidentally, today is Sunday and we are in the prison yard. In the evening the dreaded "medicine" will be administered.

I wasn't interrogated for the first two weeks of my stay at Central Prison, Pretoria. However, I had no illusions and eventually my day came. It was in the early hours of the morning–around three o'clock. There was a rattle of keys and the door swung open. A gruff voice called out: "Where is that bletty (bloody) terrorist No. X?" (We have decided to omit the number and the name of the writers for obvious reasons).

I was weak from diarrhoea and before I could get myself together, one of the Security Police gave me a blow in the stomach. Is was still half asleep and the glaring lights from torches had virtually confused me. It had a damaging effect on my eyes. Worse, I was being pushed and hit from all sides. Another blow in the stomach and I literally collapsed. They dragged me out of the cell and down the corridor and out into a Land Rover which drove me and five others to Compol, the Police Headquarters.

At Compol, I was quickly taken into a small interrogation room with very bright lights. I was then thrown into a specially designed armed chair and my hands and legs were tied to this chair. Thus, I was practically unable to protect myself from the blows which rained from all directions.

A big beefy Sergeant, whom we later nicknamed as "The Beast" looked down on me and asked in a quiet firm voice, "What is your name?" I gave my name and all other particulars about myself. Then the quiet voice became harsh: „Look here, let me warn you before I proceed.

I know everything about you: where you were trained, country, place and so on. Your friends furnished me with all the information about you and I just want you to tell the truth. You understand?"
"Yes, baas (boss)."
"Now", he said, "Where were you trained? Russia! China! Algeria! Tanzania! Egypt!" He was literally shouting into my face.

"I was never trained anywhere." A blow rained across my face which was followed by another and another. I felt very hot. Then another one got' me in the stomach. I don't remember for how long I was unconscious and I don't know how many blows followed the one which knocked me out. Then I came round gradually and another Boer took over the questioning.
"What did you say? Where were you trained did you say?", he asked.
"I was never trained anywhere". Another blow. At this point something happened to me which repeated itself throughout the subsequent interrogations. The blows ceased to hurt me at all. All the physical damages, bleeding nose and mouth, swollen lips and eyes, all were there. But I couldn't feel the blows any more except in the stomach in which case I was breathless.
"Do you admit being a terrorist?"
"No." Another blow.
"Look here, do you want me to kill you?"
"No, baas (boss)."
"Then for God's sake tell the truth. I know you are one of those who are trained abroad. Your friends told me."
"No, I am not a terrorist and I wasn't trained abroad."
"Tell us about the others. Tell us about your plans."

"I don't know anything at all." More blows. By this time I was practically finished and I blacked out. I don't remember anything except that I woke up in my cell the following day. I was burning with pain all over my body. I wanted to see a doctor but there wasn't a chance at all. Two days after my first interrogation they came for me again. It was the same thing all over again but I stuck to the same story.

The Police also tried some other methods in addition to beatings and electric shocks. For instance some of my compatriots would be taken to Compol and given very delicious meals after which they would be asked to appear as State witnesses at the trial and also to give information on the others. They would be told to report to the Police on what was happening in the cells. Many of them ate the delicious meals but never succumbed to the dubious tricks of the Police.

Today, we are behind bars; some, like myself, serving life imprisonment; others 20 years. We don't know when we will ever see the sun again. But we are happy in that we are in prison for the freedom of our country. One day the country will be free and if we are all alive, we shall return and serve our people.

If this letter should ever reach the persons to whom it is addressed, my compatriots and myself wish to say to our people, that we remain faithful to the struggle for freedom and to the principles of S.W.A.P.O. till that day when the new sun shall rise in Namibia.

I know that the struggle will be long and bitter. I also know that my people will wage that struggle, whatever the cost. — Herman Ja Toivo

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Fear in Windhoek

A RECENT VISITOR TO WINDHOEK WHO, FOR OBVIOUS REASONS, WISHES TO REMAIN ANONYMOUS, WROTE THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS OF HIS TRIP TO WINDHOEK FOR NAMIB TODAY.

I was rather glad in a way when the plane jerked and nosed into the clear blue sky that Thursday afternoon. Down below lay Windhoek, the capital of South West Africa, where I had spent almost a month. As the plane took its southerly course to Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg, I thought of the days I had spent in Windhoek and the things I had seen, heard and learned. My mind took a brief journey into the past and I found myself at Strydom International Airport — I had just arrived in Windhoek, South West Africa.

Having gone through immigration formalities at the Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg three days earlier, I walked without any trouble through the Customs, down the corridor of the airport building and out on the street, across the street to the taxi-stand and in less than

a minute, I was speeding over the 17 mile long tarred road to Windhoek. Before going any further, I must pause here to say something about myself.

I am a Swede by nationality domiciled in the United Kingdom for the past four years where I am employed as an industrial research assistant with a British company which has some connections in South Africa as well as South West Africa. I regard myself as a liberal and like my Government and all Swedes believe that all peoples are entitled to freedom, independence and justice. I have never actively participated in politics either in Sweden or now in the United Kingdom. I have however kept myself informed on political matters all over the world.

I have followed with specific interest, the political transformation on the African continent as one country after another attained independence. I have visited East Africa, West Africa and South Africa before, but I have never been to South West Africa. I knew something about the country from the debates at the United Nations and followed with interest the proceedings at the International Court of Justice, the aftermath of which stirred such worldwide indignation. But I really got more interested when the trial of 37 South West Africans opened in Pretoria. Reports of guerilla activity in Ovamboland and the fact the South West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO) was being linked with them contributed to my final resolve to learn more about the country, its people and its problems. So, under the pretext of a business mission, I set out for Windhoek via Johannesburg and found myself checking into the Continental Hotel in Windhoek.

The very same evening, I got an inkling of what makes South West Africa tick, from some friends who were connected with my company. One of them, an Englishman, invited me to dine with his family. He had also invited some of his local friends and business associates to meet me. The dominant topic discussed throughout the dinner and afterwards was the trial of the 37 South West African nationalists which at the time had just opened in Pretoria. It was a one-sided discussion. They all, condemned, in unison, "communists and communists dubbed agitators" who were allegedly trying to create chaos and confusion in South West Africa. The South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) was a "sinister communist conspiracy" which aimed at the "killing of all whites", followed by the establishment of a "communist dictatorship", etc. etc. They all agreed on everything. I just listened.

At one point, in the course of the dinner, the maid servant of our host, named Frieda, came in to remove some dishes. Our host put a number of questions to her.

"Frieda, are there any terrorist cells in Katutura?" (Katutura is one of the African locations in Windhoek).

"No," Frieda answered.
"So you admit that there are in fact terrorists in town?" It was one of the guests.
"No," she said nervously.
"Why do your people want to kill all whites?", another guest asked.
"No."
"Look here, there must be some terrorist cells in Katutura. Be a nice native girl, and tell us." It was one of the women.
"No."
"What about in the Old Location?". Another guest, a man.
"No." Then she was told to get out.

"They are all the same. These natives are all the same. She just recited the same answer to all the questions. That is precisely what our 'boy' does. A 'No' to every question. You can't trust them." It was another woman guest.

I discovered later on that an unqualified "No" is the standard answer given by many Africans – if not all – when questioned about "terrorism" or about SWAPO. When friends meet, they talk about the mysterious behaviour of their servants among other things. Whites in Windhoek, and especially on the farms, have come to convince themselves that all the Africans are "terrorists" – potential or actual but still the same – "terrorists".

The white fear of everything African as either a potential or actual terrorist is not very much helped by the unusual presence of the South African Army, Police and Special Branch all over Windhoek. The Police and soldiers are seen on all streets of Windhoek. Truckloads of soldiers pass through Windhoek almost every other week and some remain in the capital. Plainclothes Security men are almost everywhere to be found. The whites themselves are not saved from occasionally questioning and surveillance. Thus, the white fear is increased by the presence of the Army, the Police and the Security men. On many occasions, I have heard white Windhoekers ask: "If the Government say they are in full control, then what are all these soldiers doing in town?" The Government's answer to this is: "Just precautionary measures. The terrorists have been beaten." But I am not sure whether the Government sincerely believes in what it tells its white supporters. "The whole country is full of blettie (bloody) terrorists but the Government will soon wipe them all out." He was an Afrikaaner farmer having his usual drink at the Hansa Hotel.

"Are you sure of that?" I asked.

"Yes, yes, I am sure. If this country falls in the hands of these Kaffirs (Kiffers) the communists will flock in. We can't let that happen. It is the communists who are causing all the trouble," he said.
"But suppose the Africans take over this country, what will the whites do?"

"We are not going to abandon this country to terrorists and communists. We'll fight to the end."

"When you say 'we', do you mean all whites in South West?"

"Yes, I mean all the whites in this country."

But I knew perfectly well that he was not speaking for all whites in South West. He was not certainly speaking for the German and the English-speaking whites. The Germans and the Afrikaaners don't see eye to eye since the Germans despise the Afrikaaners. The Germans are only interested in a stable government which can guarantee their economic supremacy in South West and it is only this consideration that makes them support the present Nationalist Party administration in South West. Thus, if there is an African Government which can guarantee safety to the German community, especially to its business activity, then the Germans will be the first to turn against the Afrikaaners and support such an African Government. As for the English, their attitude is: Well, if things don't work out well, I can always go back to London.

As for the Africans, they have virtually withdrawn behind an impenetrable mask. All of them – or it seems – wear this mask. I attempted several times to penetrate this mask, but the more I tried, the more it became impenetrable. So I gave up. As the days rolled by, I also became insecure. After all I was white and when the showdown comes – as it is bound to come – I could be caught in the net too.

As the plane approached Jan Smuts Airport, I felt a sense of relief. The atmosphere in Windhoek had been too tense for me. Then, of course, Johannesburg was not a suitable substitute for Windhoek. It could explode any time and I could be a victim. So I took off for London the following day.

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